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REPORT

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SUBJECT 1. Czech-Slovak Relations 2. Foreign Broadcasts  
3. Attitude toward the Regime 4. Morale in the  
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1. Attitude of Slovaks toward Czechs; attitude of Slovaks to proposals for an independent Slovakia.

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a. [redacted] there was no difference between the political attitudes of Slovaks in civilian life and Slovaks in the armed forces. He said that most Slovaks looked back on the wartime years of Slovakia's independence as a golden age. Everyone had a lot of money. There was no rationing. The Germans placed so many orders in the country that there was plenty of work for everyone. During the war, life was better for the Slovaks than it was either in the first Republic or after 1945.

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b. Nevertheless, most Slovaks did not now think that an independent or separate Slovakia was possible.

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[redacted] Bratislava, the only people who still wanted a separate Slovak State were the few people who had received Jewish property during the war and had then lost it, who had held civil service posts in the wartime Slovak Government, and the like. Most people in the village, insofar as they had any political ideas at all, thought there should be some kind of union of the non-Communist Central and Eastern European peoples -- Lithuania to Bulgaria -- on the lines of the proposed United States of Europe.

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[redacted] he believed most people in Slovakia also thought, that the time of separate independent small nations was past. There were no more such completely independent nations anywhere any more, either in the West or in the East as far as he could see. There was thus no strong feeling in Slovakia that there should be an independent Slovakia. People regarded the association with the Czechs as something which would have to be continued, but which should, if possible, be strengthened with the addition of other national groups.

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c. There was less anti-Czech feeling in Slovakia than was the case in the first years after the war. Many Slovaks still blamed the Czechs for not having stood up better against the Communists, but today the only thing that matters is the common feeling of hate which the great majority of both Czechs and Slovaks have for the Communists. In judging one another, people now ask themselves only one question: "Is he for or against the Communists?" If he is against the Communists, it matters not that he is a Czech, a Jew, a Hungarian, or what have you. This was why even people who disliked the Jews did not take any particular satisfaction in the fall of SLANSKY and in the anti-Semitic slanting of the trial. The only satisfaction people felt when they heard that SLANSKY, CLEMENTIS, and the others were arrested, tried, and executed was caused by the fact that there were now just that many fewer Communists. It made no difference to anyone in Slovakia, or Bohemia, or anywhere else, whether SLANSKY or GOTTWALD or ZAPOTOCKY was in charge. All were or had been Russian tools. [redacted] the more hanged, the better; it didn't matter which ones were hanged first.

d. [redacted] in the army there was sometimes ill-feeling between Czechs and Slovaks, though nobody's true feelings could ever be expressed openly. [redacted] on a number of occasions he noticed that Czech officers or soldiers would drop remarks about "stupid Slovaks" or would smile in a superior manner at the simplicity of the Slovak soldiers who kept in their footlockers prayer-books given to them by their mothers. Slovak soldiers naturally resented this. They also resented the fact that very few Slovaks were allowed to become officers, and that all commands in the army had to be given in the Czech language. [redacted] he was the only Slovak in his class at the Border Guard officer's training school in Prague and in his Border Guard battalion. Half of the soldiers in his unit were Slovaks. But in the army, too, the main question was: are you for or against the Communists, not are you a Czech, a Slovak, or something else.

## 2. Are political leaders in exile known in Slovakia?

Dr. LETTRICH was the only Slovak political leader in exile whom [redacted] to name, or about whom he had heard in Slovakia. He knew that Dr. LETTRICH, and Mr. ZENKL, about whom he had also heard, were working against the Communists, but this is all he knew, or all most other people in Slovakia knew about the exile leaders. He said that the ordinary man in Slovakia didn't know that there were any differences among the emigrant groups, with some favoring a separate Slovak State and others a continuation of the Czechoslovak Republic. Since he has been living in West Germany, [redacted] to the foreign Czech and Slovak language broadcasts and to read emigrant newspapers, and for the first time has learned of the quarrels among the emigrants. He thought the emigrants should forget about their differences, and concentrate on the Communists. This is the way people in Slovakia would feel, he thought, if they knew of these differences. He said that probably the only people in Slovakia who knew that there was a separate pro-Slovak State movement abroad were the few people, described above, who still thought of the good jobs they had held during the war.

## 3.

Political indoctrination in the army stressed that everything is much better in Slovakia than in the times of MASARYK and BENES, that Czechs and Slovaks are now fully equal and that there is absolutely no discrimination between nationalities. [redacted] except in the army as already noted, it is true that Czechs and Slovaks receive equal treatment. One no longer sees Czech mail clerks in Slovak towns, as was sometimes the case before the war. In the face of the tyranny to which Czechs and Slovaks are now subjected in exactly equal measure, however, no Slovak feels any gratitude to the Communists for this big talk about what is being done for Slovakia. Apart from the above arguments slanted to appeal to the Slovaks, there was generally no difference in the political indoctrination for Czech and Slovak soldiers, as far as [redacted]

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[REDACTED]

a. [REDACTED] preference in foreign broadcasts, and he thought that hardly anybody in Czechoslovakia had any order of preference either. He knew of Radio Free Europe, VOA and the BBC, but paid little or no attention to differences between their programs. When he had time to listen to the radio and no one else was around to watch him, he used to listen for a foreign station broadcasting in the Czech or Slovak languages. If he found one, he listened to it. Nobody ever passed over on the dial one foreign broadcast because they preferred to keep looking for another. It was too hard to find an audible foreign broadcast in the first place to risk losing its message while looking elsewhere on the dial. [REDACTED] frequently to RFE but this was because RFE was on the air often, not because he had any idea about RFE programs being better than those of other stations.

b. [REDACTED] of the White Legion or of any broadcasts ascribed to the White Legion.

5.

[REDACTED]

a. [REDACTED] a small town in Slovakia. He spent some time in Prague in officer training school, and a little time now and then in Bratislava, but he was too clever or sly to risk taking an interest in political discussions with anyone. He also was basically not very interested in such topics as the ones covered by the above questions. Accordingly, his answers are for the most part quite commonplace and do not represent any well-thought out conclusions.

b. [REDACTED] there was no difference in the attitudes of workers in Prague and in Bratislava toward the Communist regime. Workers everywhere had been promised much by the Communists, and for a time, especially in Prague, the workers had followed the Communists. But now, [REDACTED] the workers were the strongest enemies of the regime in both cities. He thought that the Communists had the most support from the "intelligentsia". Workers could afford to oppose the Communists better than members of the "intelligentsia". A worker had only his two hands to depend on, and the Communists couldn't take them away from him, but a member of the "intelligentsia" was likely, [REDACTED] to knuckle under to the Communists to a greater extent, just to keep the favors he had been given.

c. [REDACTED] was not aware of any significant difference in the attitude of the workers in the two cities between 1948 and 1950, except that for a while after 1948 there were probably more pro-Communists among the workers in Prague than in Bratislava. He did observe a decline in the standard of living of workers and a growing disillusionment with Communism after 1948. He thought that the decline in the number of pro-Communists among the workers was gradual and steady, as the decline in the standard of living was gradual and steady. In the villages, on the other hand, conditions really didn't get bad until after 1950, so that one could say that, relatively speaking, in the last two or three years the Communists have lost popularity in the villages faster than in the cities -- though, of course, the Communists never really had any support to speak of in the villages and in the countryside. In his own village or district, for example, [REDACTED] there were only about 10 families (say 50 persons in all) who were Communists or pro-Communists out of about 2,500 people.

d. [REDACTED] in Kosice and in other parts of the country at the time of the currency reform, but never of any unrest in Bratislava at that time. He was not in Bratislava then, but he heard that the city was swarming with police during the change of currency.

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6. [REDACTED]

50X1 a. [REDACTED] the morale of officers and enlisted men in the Border Guard was bad. The work is hard. The men must be on patrol day and night, in rain and snow. Leaves were rare. [REDACTED] morale was probably worse in the Border Guard than in the other branches of the regular armed forces. The soldier in the regular army was not in continual danger of being punished as the Border Guard soldier was when someone escaped across the frontier nearby. The regular soldier also had much more free time to himself in pleasanter surroundings.

50X1 b. [REDACTED] the food for the Border Guard was the same as in the army. Though enlisted men were paid somewhat better in the Border Guard than in the army, the difference was only about 80 new-style crowns per month. This gave a Border Guard private a salary of about 120 crowns a month compared to the 40 or 50 crowns a month the army private received. This was a sizeable difference percentage-wise but too little to compensate for the greater hardships and risk of Border Guard service. It was also too little in comparison with the much better pay and more free time given civilian factory workers. 50X1 /For the information on this subject [REDACTED]

50X1 c. [REDACTED] what security measures were taken in selecting members of the Guard and in assuring their reliability, because no one was ever told why he was selected for Guard service, and security measures were never discussed. He said, however, that the absence of any ties with the West was undoubtedly a condition of service. [REDACTED] 50X1

[REDACTED] seen no more. Members of Border Guard units were required to receive and send mail only through their unit mail room. Letters were collected at the company, forwarded to the battalion and from there to the regiment, where they were turned over to the civilian postal service. This regulation was not very strictly enforced, as nothing was done to prevent soldiers from mailing their letters in the next village, but on paper the regulation on sending and receiving mail was perhaps somewhat stricter for the Border Guard than was the case for regular army units. On duty in the frontier area, the reliability of Border Guard members was assured by a rule that no one could ever be alone outside the company area. The soldiers on patrol were sent out in twos. The soldiers were rotated, so that no two men ever went on patrol together for two consecutive times. In addition to these precautions, there was, of course, the usual liberal use of planted informers to carry gossip to the ear of the political officer in each unit.

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